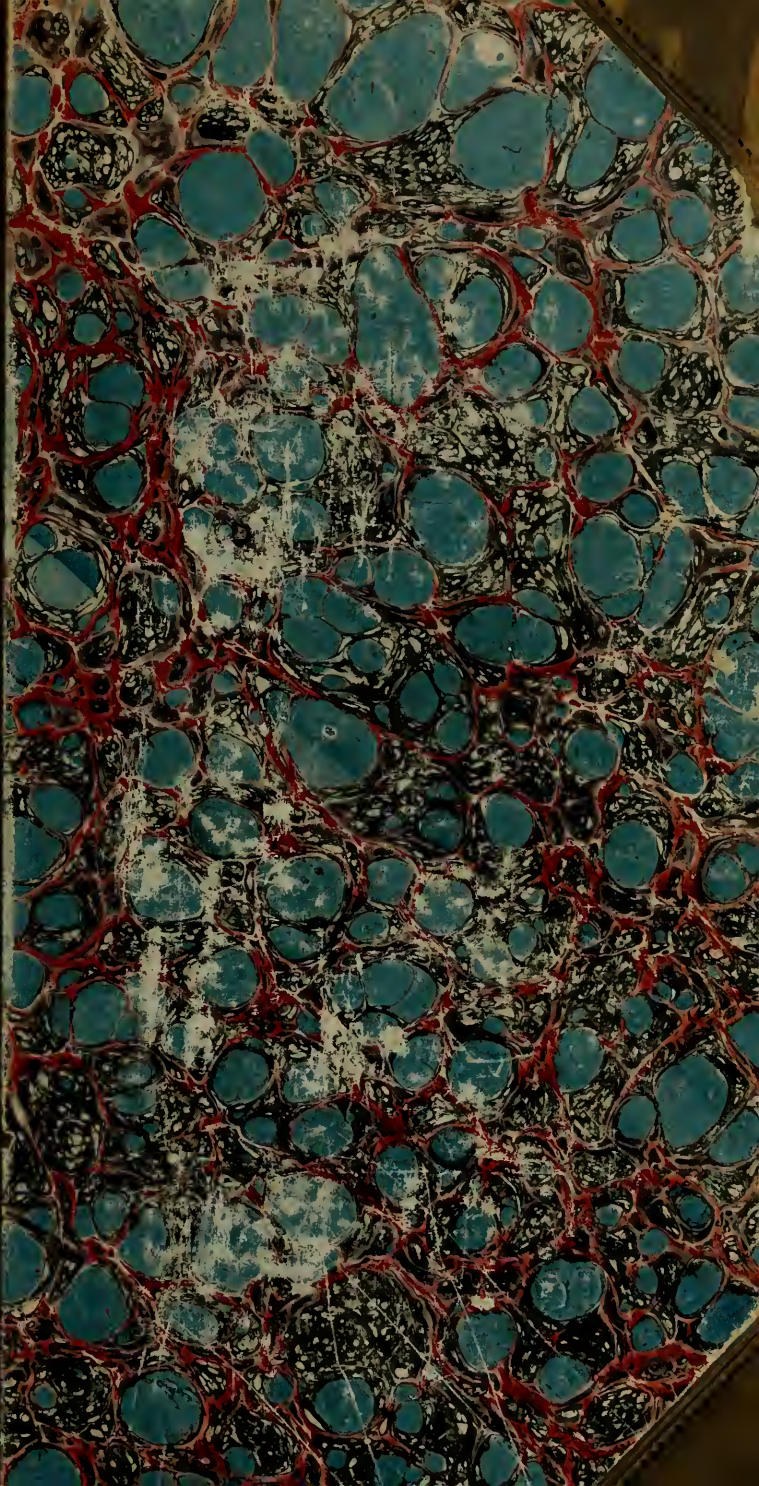






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REPORT

OF THE

MEETING OF WORKING MEN,

AT THE

Church Congress,

ADDRESSED BY

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, THE EARLS NELSON AND
HARROWBY, THE DEANS OF YORK, CHICHESTER, CARLISLE, & CORK,
REV. CANON HEY, AND SIR ROUNDELL PALMER, Q. C., M. P.,

HELD IN THE

CONGRESS HALL, YORK,

ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10TH, 1866,

WITH A

PREFACE BY HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

YORK:

J. SAMPSON, 13, CONEY STREET.

P R E F A C E.

On the first day of the Church Congress a deputation from the York Working Men's Club waited on the President and requested that some of those who took part in the Congress would devote a few hours to the instruction of the working men, promising that large numbers would take advantage of this opportunity, if it were given. As there was only one vacant evening, and as everyone was already engaged for every hour beside, there was no time to prepare for such a gathering. But it was felt that this novel invitation should not be received with coldness. Accordingly, on the following evening, the speakers and many other leading members of the Congress met, in the Congress Hall, a large body of the working men and their families, all admitted by tickets distributed by their own Club. A more intelligent and appreciative audience it might have been hard to find, and some of the speakers much regretted that, on such an opportunity, they were unable to concert any general plan, or even to prepare, in the usual way, their own addresses. Of this interesting meeting, it has been thought desirable to preserve some record. The reader must extend to the speakers the same indulgence that they received from their hearers, and must remember that the meeting is recorded not so much for what was said, as for the fact that such a meeting was devised by the working men themselves as an addition to the Church Congress.

W. EBOR.

THE MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10th, 1866,

HIS GRACE the Archbishop of York took the chair in the Congress Hall, supported by Earls Nelson and Harrowby, the Deans of York, Chichester, Ely, Carlisle, and Cork, the Rev. Canons Hey and Trevor, the Lord Mayor, Sir Roundell Palmer, Q.C., M.P., J. Lowther, Esq., M.P., A. J. Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P., Sir M. Peto, &c., &c.

HIS GRACE THE PRESIDENT, who was received with cheers, said—There is no feature of the present Congress which has been more thoroughly gratifying to the promoters of this movement than the meeting to-night. (Cheers.) It gives the greatest satisfaction to every person on this platform to come forward and take part in a meeting of this kind. Those who invited us to come here are not regular members of the Congress, but by their invitation and by thus meeting us they express that they are anxious and open to receive instruction from those who compose the Congress. We do not, however, assume your entire agreement with us; but merely that your presence here shows that you are willing to be instructed. I may also say at the outset that, as President of the Congress, nothing has given me half the alarm I feel in facing this audience to-night. (A laugh.) It was an excellent thought—but it would have been more excellent if it had come earlier, so that we might have appeared before you with subjects pre-arranged and well considered, that we might have done our best for you as we have done for the regular members and meetings. We consented at once when it was proposed to get up this extra meeting for your satisfaction; although unprepared as we are it is no form of speech, but a reality, when we say we throw ourselves upon your indulgence. (Cheers.) I will also say at the outset, and I hope there will be no mistake on the point, that we meet you on equal terms; and not as bringing our intellects down to anybody's level, which would be wholly unnecessary. (Cheers.) Yesterday, in this Hall, a member who comes from the other side of the Irish Channel (Mr. Napier) said, "I hate the words, 'working men;' every man that is worth anything is a working man"—(cheers)—and therefore in that respect we are all on the same footing, and have no business to be calling one another names. (Renewed cheers.) And if that be *true* at all times it is pre-eminently *true* at a Christian Congress; for I think if there be one thing more than another which the Church of England may fairly claim, it is that instead of attempting to aggravate distinctions between *class and class*, she rather seeks to mediate between class and class—ever putting it forward, in all places and at all times, that in the sight of God, and in view of the great realities which

Revelation presents to us, all men are equal; and that all distinctions of wealth and position in the face of these great facts are so minute as to be not worth taking into account. (Cheers.) It has been a matter of difficulty to arrange on what subjects to speak so that the speakers may not tread over the same ground; but in the few minutes in which we were assembled before taking our places on the platform, it was agreed to leave each speaker at liberty to choose his own subject and to treat it in his own way. I propose therefore to speak to you for a few minutes, simply and unpremeditatedly, about the highest subject of all—What brings us here to-night? We come as the servants of the Lord Jesus Christ. It is because our Lord taught what he did teach eighteen hundred years ago that a meeting of this kind is possible. What has made the gentlemen on the platform from Ireland come here but the love of Christ burning in their hearts? (Cheers.) What has brought from the other side of the Atlantic the three prelates who sit behind me? Whence is that coincidence of feeling which has brought some from Ireland, some from the other side of the Atlantic, and others from all parts of England, and gathered them together in a focus as it were at York, but to hear what each has to say about the Christian religion at this time of its great trial in the world. (Cheers.) It is a most remarkable fact that the word spoken by our blessed Lord should be at this moment such a power in the world—a power greater than that of capital, machinery, industry, or political systems. Such however is the power of the Word although it is working more quietly. The name of Christ has lately been coupled with speculations tending much to detract from His glory, by robbing Him of that attribute, which nevertheless I believe men will continue to assign to Him to the end of the world, namely, the eternal Sonship of God. I know that to whatever class you may belong, whether high or low, these speculations are now-a-days put forward not only in a hot-pressed and expensive form, but in the penny serial and the dingy tract. Their general purport is to deny that Christ is the Lord of the world. But after all these speculations and all the criticisms that have been of late years so lavishly poured forth, I know for certain that He is the Lord of the world, and I will show you in a rough way why I think so. (Cheers.) I will suppose the case of a man taking into his hands the four Gospels. I will not suppose that every word is true; but I will come down to a lower platform for the sake of argument, and suppose it admitted that there is in them a kernel of historic truth. That does not represent my own opinion—I take much higher views; but I believe if I take the lower ground and convince you on that I may reach some whose premisses would not be the same as my own. I find in these books and from other sources, that the time they treat of was one of peculiar barrenness—that it was a time of most remarkable prejudices—that it was the time of all others at which Jewish cultivation had got to a very low ebb—and that therefore it was not a time at which one naturally would expect a great law-giver or a great thinker would spring up. In this lowest depth of Jewish mental degradation there comes forward One who preaches the Sermon on the Mount. That particular document is a most remarkable one. In the first place it is remark-

able because it has, so to speak, no genealogy. It is impossible for you to take up any book and there detect the main lines of that sermon; or find something out of which it might have been developed. It is remarkable because all the research which adverse critics for ages have bestowed upon it, have produced nothing of the sort. It is also remarkable because it came at a time when Jewish teachers were wrapped up in the opinion that if anything were good it must come out of themselves and be confined to Jewish limits in the course of its development. But in the Sermon on the Mount we see these Jewish prejudices and limitations fall off like fetters from the limbs of a slave. It is world-wide in its application—it makes all men brothers—and although the law of Moses is recognised, its restraints and limitations are taken away. Then in the next place we find the author of that discourse speaks like a law-giver and as taking upon himself the highest authority, for he alters and adjusts a law which He and all that heard him knew to be divine. That discourse, both for what it claims and what it teaches, is a document full of the highest truth, and also of truth new to them that listened. It has been said that there were at that time flitting about in the Jewish mind abundant theories concerning the Messiah. Though they had sunk so low, they looked for him to renew the glories of the days of Solomon—they expected a Prince and an invincible leader in battle, who would restore all that they had lost. I grant that: but their anticipations were all of an earthly kind—the triumphant general, the great king, the renewed grandeur of their temple, but nothing beyond. I say that when we apply the light of the Gospels we see with perfect distinctness that the Messiah, sent by God, must be spiritual, divine, and a sufferer for the sins of men; but the Jews had no ideas of this sort. When the Messiah spoke to them of Himself as the founder of a heavenly kingdom, that was a perfectly new and original statement and could not be accounted for by anything floating about in the minds of the Jews at that time. (Cheers.) I will go farther: I say the morality taught by Christ has commended itself to the mind of the world ever since—I say that it has worked and is working in the minds of all people, and all over the face of the earth it has influenced law and order, even where theology has never been thought about. I have not said a word about the miracles of the Gospel; for I believe Christianity proves itself to be true in a much higher way. To my mind they are comparatively unimportant for that purpose. The first miracle of the Gospel is Christ the Lord himself. I get beyond the miracles; and then I turn round upon them, and look on them from the side of Him whose presence on earth was a greater miracle than all the others. If He, who was so much above the common race of mankind, had not done wonderful things it would have been more marvellous than that he did work them. What I am saying to you is the merest rough sketch of an argument, but I will turn to another point. When it is said by many of the modern speculators that Christ over-rated His own mission, and generated within himself those high notions of his teaching—I reply that if He were only man, one link, in the common course of the development of humanity; we ought to be able to see whence his doctrines came and how he came to be the man he was. And this leads

us from the doctrine to the character of our Lord. This is a great subject; one more fit to be treated in a book than in a discourse of twenty minutes. During the last eighteen hundred years and more Christ has always had disciples and also enemies, and from the nature of the case no one has undergone the same amount of criticism as Christ the Lord. The cause is that He preached the doctrine of an eternal kingdom of which God should be the head—to which purity and holiness should be the title of admission, and from which sin should be the sole cause of separation and exclusion. If a man teaches a new mathematical system we judge it by what it produces within the limits of its own principles—we have nothing to do with the character of the man—we do not even think of it—but if what the man produces is accurate and useful it is regarded as worthy of admiration. But when a man sets himself up to be a king and a leader in a new kingdom, the entrance to which is through purity and holiness of heart, then in that king and leader, his disciples expect to find pre-eminent holiness. Friends and enemies alike will observe such a one, the friends to see how far the same heart which he bids them carry into his kingdom is framed already in himself; the enemies to find in his inconsistency some justification for refusing to believe his message. And no doubt an inconsistency in one who made such claims and bore such a message could be fatal to his mission. Now we are able to interrogate both friends and enemies; and we have a full account of the results of their observations in the recorded history of the one and in the eloquent silence of the other. The first class was composed of the Apostles, who perhaps had not much to lose, but whatever they had was staked on the purity and truth of their Lord. They do not say in so many words that He was a man of extreme *holiness*, but they describe a character of the most wonderful *holiness*. And no enemy, however he may be disposed to impugn other things about the Christian religion, has ever done anything to deface that picture of singular holiness which we have in the life of our Lord. (Cheers.) If that be so—if the apostles, who staked all upon the truth of it, reported their Lord to be so holy in all the acts of his which they describe—and if the learned in every civilized nation in the whole earth for centuries have been able to come to no other conclusion—and more than that, if they have not been able even to point out one spot even of weakness in His character and conduct—then I say in that respect, the picture of holiness which Christ presents to us is another great and convincing proof of the truth of Christianity. (Cheers.) Do not think that any books, however ingenious, can take that away. (Cheers.) I do not fear these things. I should be sorry to see brother or friend doubt that Christ is the Son of God, and therefore the revealer of the Father to us. I should be sorry for any one here who had come into that state; but to suppose that the name of Christ sinks into a lower grade because learned professors write ingenious works, is simply absurd. (Cheers.) So long as this world rolls round upon its axis, all the good and pious who wish to crucify sin in themselves, will cherish in their hearts the fact that the Son of the Most High in human form is their Lord and their God. (Cheers.) It is of the greatest importance

that we should all cling tenaciously to the truth ; and when anyone attempts to rob you of that truth take up the gospels—read them carefully—read other books if you have access to them, and see if you can find there any law given by man like unto Christ's. This question has been asked over and over again before, and the world itself answers "No !" (Cheers.) Then ask if ever there was another character like His—combining the greatest purity and the greatest tenderness and compassion towards us who sin—every extreme of excellence, blended to make our perfect whole. (Cheers.) All I ask of you is to remember when people come to you and talk of doubts and difficulties, that there is much more to be said on the other side. Depend upon it Christianity has not got so far on in its journey without having over it the watchfulness of a Providence which will take care of it to the end. Depend upon it the power in the earth of the Lord Jesus will be as great a hundred years hence as if these great thinkers had never thought at all. The things we teach are true, and eternally true, because they have been told to us by the Divine Being himself. (Loud cheers.)

THE DEAN OF CORK: I really and honestly feel it to be for any one a very great privilege to be allowed to address such a meeting as this. I feel it to be a privilege in my own case, not being a working man, and not being an Englishman, to address a meeting of English working men. I feel with his Grace that I should have liked a little time to think over what I should say to such a meeting as this ; because if there is any kind of meeting for which a speaker should more carefully, respectfully, and anxiously prepare than another his thoughts and words, it should be a meeting composed of the working men of England of the present day. (Cheers.) I cannot look now-a-days at a meeting of working men without feeling I am addressing those who are becoming more and more a great power, both in the STATE and in the CHURCH. Whether men like it or not, that is a simple, great, and most certain fact. As the working classes of England then have an increasing power both in the State and in the Church, I must address this meeting as the representatives of such a power, and that is no light task, and one which requires careful preparation and anxious thought. But under the circumstances in which we meet you at your own request, and without the least time for preparation, I must at the risk of being called "horsey" remind you of the proverb, that it is an ungracious thing "to look a gift horse in the mouth." (Cheers and laughter.) I beg you to take in all kindness and goodwill the open and honest speeches that you will get. (Cheers.) Allow me to pay you the highest compliment I can, in not saying one word of flattery. The worst compliment you can pay any man is to flatter him. (Cheers.) Whatever I know about "blarney," I left behind me in Ireland. (Great laughter.) And I therefore say to you in all candour that the working classes are in imminent danger of being too much flattered just at present. (Cheers and laughter.) I think any body of men in possession of power is in danger of encountering a certain amount of servility ; for it is in human nature to flatter power wherever it may be situated. If we have a contempt for the flunkey who bows himself down before a single individual, we must feel

that it is just as base to flatter and fawn upon a multitude. (Cheers.) The man who flatters a multitude because it is strong, or likely to be strong, is just as much a flunkey as the man who bows himself down before a monarch. A mere demagogue is nothing more than a flunkey inside out. (Great cheering and laughter.) I will now say a word or two on the distinctions of class. In the sense in which his Grace spoke there is no distinction of class, for all men in this country are, or ought to be, working men. But there is a sense in which there is a marked distinction. Men will at once be recognized as divided broadly into two classes; those who work mainly with their hands and those who work mainly with their heads. What, however, we call, and what you call the working men of England, are those who work mainly with their hands. And representing to night that class, you represent a distinct body in the State. Besides these it must also be admitted, that there are different grades and distinctions of class in English society. Now I say that the existence of different classes in this realm is an ordinance of God's providence as much for the good and benefit of the State, as any other institution or creation of God in this world. Instead then of trying to efface these class distinctions—what you cannot do—let us distinctly recognise them. (Cheers.) Let us acknowledge and honour them, and study them as God's appointment, and use them as the best means of elevating this realm of England in the scale of happiness and greatness. (Cheers.) Then if we say there are these classes by God's appointment; we must also remember that God made nothing without some express purpose, and that each class must have distinct duties for which it exists. That the place of each in society gives it those particular duties, and out of it arise temptations and dangers against which it must guard. Let us for a moment look at the duties and dangers which affect ourselves. Let us first say a word on the *rights* of classes. The working classes in this kingdom have their rights; and I believe those rights are given them by God. If so, it is their most solemn, their bounden, their religious duty, to find out what those rights are, and to hold them against the world. (Cheers.) I am not afraid to say that where the working classes have found out what their rights are, whether civil, ecclesiastical, or political, they have a right to maintain them at their live's risk. (Cheers.) But let them recognize honestly and frankly, that it is the duty and privilege of every other class to do the same. Other classes believe that they have their rights. An honest, honourable, righteous, chivalrous, patriotic feeling it is which induces one class to say to another, "We have our rights—we stand up for our rights—even as you stand up for your rights." (Cheers.) There must come of such a state of things, discussion, argument, a certain amount of contention, but the end to be sought is a righteous, peaceful, and lasting settlement of rights. But if these feelings have no counterpoise they would—as the rights of classes must sometimes clash—result in mere selfish contention, perhaps in war and in strife. Do you claim your rights? Let no man take them from you, but recognize also the rights of other classes in society, and in the end, I believe, the good providence of God will bring out of it a righteous and peaceful settlement of all such questions in this king-

dom and realm of England. (Cheers.) So much for the rights of classes. Then, the next thing is, what is often confused with our rights, and that is, our INTERESTS. A man's right is one thing; his interest is another. To stand up for our rights is often ennobling, but to contend for our interest is a lower and a baser thing. It is a man's right to be free—it may be his interest to be rich; but he is a base and cowardly man who barter his freedom for riches. (Cheers.) Right is a matter of principle—interest a matter of feeling, and very often short-sighted, selfish feeling. It therefore is the duty of all classes to stand up for their rights, and to be exceedingly jealous of themselves when they think they are doing so, that they are not contending merely for their interest. (Cheers.) We have, then, to dread collision not so much from the assertion of rights as from the selfishness of interest. Interested motives encase a man in prejudices, through which the voice of brotherly kindness never succeeds in penetrating. I do not dread any contention for rights, but it would be a low, miserable, paltry, selfish craving in any class for mere class interests. (Cheers.) I say, then, stand for your rights and be ready to forego your interests. (Cheers.) Again, it is a solemn and serious truth that with rights and interests God has always given great duties. Years ago, it was said by one who had in him the elements of a great statesman, that property had duties as well as rights attached to it. That is the case with every gift of God. Wealth and rank, intelligence of mind, cunning and skill of hand, have all attached to them solemn responsibilities. Every class, therefore, has not only its rights, but its duties. (Cheers.) But I ask you, men of York, what is the gravest charge that could be brought against the Bishops and Archbishops—or rather, as I will not be personal to your Grace—against the Deans of our Church? (Laughter.) What would be the highest charge you could bring against me and my class, or any class in the State? And what is the charge so often brought against the higher classes;—it is that of being tenacious of rights and neglectful of duties. (Cheers.) They who enjoy wealth and rank are apt, it is said, to forget the duties which are attached to wealth and rank, and any class, whether high or low, which does that, is altogether wrong. (Cheers.) It would be a miserable and degrading thing for any class, whether of dukes or earls, of bishops or deans, of landowners or labourers, of merchants or tradesmen, of manufacturers or artisans, to be contending for and insisting upon mere class interests regardless of duties; and what we earnestly wish for ourselves and for you, and what the ministers of God desire for all classes, is that while they stand for their rights like men, they should be anxious, as before the All-seeing Presence, to know and do their duty like Christian men. (Cheers.) What is the message of Christ's Church. It is not to be delivered only to the rich and well-to-do in this world, but to everyone—to those excluded from this hall by crime, or vice, or poverty, as well as to those who are here. What is this one message that we have. Is it not this. That there is a bond strong enough and wide enough to embrace every class. It is the interest, the privilege, and the duty of every member of every class to come within that bond—the loving embrace of the great Catholic Church of the Christ of God. (Cheers.) What is it that we dread?

—separation of class from class by the strength of their individual interests. The ties of family, of neighbourhood, of town, of county, of kingdom, are bonds of union to all inside them, and elements of disunion to all outside; but the society, the family, the brotherhood to which we should look, is that which consists in our sonship to the Almighty Father, that human brotherhood, the head of which is the Divine Incarnate Son, full of grace and truth. That is the bond which, by the power of the Holy Spirit, will draw men together—a power which exists in the world, that men may be one, even as He and His Father are one. (Cheers.) This is a kingdom wider and grander than this fair realm of England, and all they who own its King, are members one of another. It is the mission of the Church to preach this kingdom to all classes of society without distinction of persons. It is the peculiar privilege of the Church of England—it long has been and it will be more and more her privilege—to be thus a mediator between class and class. She has a right to speak her message to men of all ranks, and that whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear. The clergyman is not only the friend of the rich, but of the poor, and he honours poverty as a form of God's blessing and discipline, even for his dearest children. I say to all and every inhabitant of this kingdom, that the post of the Church of England in this day is in the front—(cheers)—and that in spite of all the dangers which surround her—in spite of open and covert assaults on her faith—in spite of avowed enemies and false friends—she has as glorious and hopeful a mission as God ever gave to man. (Loud cheers.) Let me say to all here, in conclusion—stand for your rights—be comparatively careless of your interests—be jealous of a due performance of your duty—and you will play a noble part in the maintenance of the Christian faith and the promotion of religious freedom, worthy of this nineteenth century and of this realm of England. (Loud cheers.)

THE EARL OF HARROWBY: I might address you to-night my friends as members with me of the same commonwealth, of the same Christian Church; as men who have with me the same interests here, and the same hopes hereafter; but in the language of the day I address you as the working classes, and now what shall I say? I am always willing to come forward when I have something to say—something to discuss—some error to attack, or some truth to defend—but to-night I am asked to speak without a subject—but to come forward and say something. (A laugh.) It is difficult enough to know what to say under these circumstances, and that difficulty is enhanced tenfold when I remember that I have to follow the accomplished Irish orator who just addressed you. (Cheers.) Following up, however, some of the remarks of previous speakers, I will remind you that the working classes now-a-days are assuming to themselves great functions. They are taking up the position of a great and distinct class in the community, and they must show themselves worthy of that assumption. You know that as mere workers with the hands you have no title to govern, because it is the head that governs and not the hands. If you are to govern you must elevate your character and improve your understanding by the acquisi-

tion of all such knowledge as will fit you for the discharge of such important functions. (Cheers.) We are sometimes told that the great thing which the working classes want is greater facilities for education, but I am not so sure that the means of education are so much wanting as a desire to make use of them. If all the schools in the country were well filled, there would be something in that plea, but the facts of the case represent a very different state of things. There is now far more school accommodation than is made use of, and it follows that there are parents who will not make the requisite sacrifice of time or money, or something or other. (Cheers.) I say that if the working class would show themselves worthy of the high position to which they aspire, they will send all their children to school as early and as regularly as possible, and take every opportunity within their reach of gaining knowledge for themselves. (Cheers.) There are a great number of Mechanics' Institutes, Free Libraries, and others almost free; and Reading Rooms in every part of the country, but do you take advantage of these means of acquiring knowledge? Are the halls of these institutions crowded with working men anxious to learn their duties as well as their rights? If this were so they might come forward and demand an increased supply of the means of education, but until they are it is ridiculous to talk of a want of facilities. (Cheers.) I had the other day an opportunity of addressing a similar assemblage to this at Birmingham. I spoke to them in somewhat the same language, and I also took the liberty of saying that in our present educational institutions much was taught that the working men cared little about, and that politics and religion were too much excluded. It was thought in former times that those were subjects that could not be discussed in safety. It was thought that men then were so intolerant that it would not be safe to enter upon topics of that nature for the purpose of instruction in mixed multitudes; but I believe the public mind at the present moment is in no such dangerous state; I believe that while the people are thirsting for information on those subjects they are willing to listen on both sides of the question, and give all the faculties of their minds to the solution of difficulties. (Cheers.) I do think it desirable that questions of politics and religion should be more freely discussed in one way or another. It is a grievous thing to exclude such topics from the courses of instruction which are offered to adults. I hope there will be a bolder handling of these matters in future. I believe it may be done with perfect safety, and greatly to the advantage of those classes of men who desire to assume such high functions. (Cheers.) I suppose at a Church Congress I must say something upon the object which has called us together, viz.: the best means of promoting the welfare and extension of the Church. I do not mean the best way of extending the revenues of the Church, and making the parsons richer. Not at all. What we want is to extend the power of the Church to instruct, and train, and come into contact with those vast populations which are the result of modern progress. Those are the questions discussed amongst us, and which have brought hundreds of clergy and laity from all quarters of the country to consult together. We have not met to increase the power and wealth of anybody, but to find out the best

means of extending the benefits of religion to all classes of our fellow countrymen. (Cheers.) It is sometimes said, by thoughtless working men, "What do we want with an established Church?—why can't we be left to provide for ourselves?" Should you like to see the clergyman withdrawn from every parish in the country? Should you like to see him no longer as the kindly friend, temporal and spiritual, of all in those parishes? Should you like to see the agricultural districts stripped of all the advantages of well educated gentlemen, compelled by the functions of their high office to reside in those districts? Do you think it would be to your advantage to get rid of the settled maintenance of the clergy—which is the object of those who seek to destroy the established Church? Are the working men aware at whose expense the clergy and the churches are maintained? They are maintained as a charge upon the land. No poor man pays, or need pay, a sixpence, unless he likes, for such purposes. Would you then wish the land to be relieved from this burden which it now bears? If it were, the churches might be in ruins, and the clergy would be driven elsewhere for subsistence. Such a catastrophe might not be felt so severely in towns as in the country. Towns may not be so sensible of the advantages derived from the clergy; but let us see what would be the result of an Act of Parliament stripping every parish of its parsons. I have already spoken of what would happen in the country, but in towns the difficulty would not arise so much from the scarcity of preachers as from the absence of any settled standard of doctrine—a thing which even townsmen would regret. (Cheers.) These are facts which may not be altogether palatable to every one; but I have in years past had to address large multitudes in one of the greatest cities of the empire in times of great political excitement, and have never shrunk from telling them the truth; and I always found when the ebullition of electioneering tumult was over, the working men were always ready to listen to fair argument, even when they did not agree with my conclusions. (Loud cheers.)

The DEAN OF CHICHESTER: At a recent conference at Leeds it was asked, "What has Christianity, which has been at work for so many hundred years, done for the working man?" A friend of mine, a working man, gave the answer to that question. And here let me bear witness to the truth of what his Grace the President said in his opening address about the deficient state of the intellectual acquirements of the working classes. They do not of course understand the dead languages and are not good grammarians, but in point of eloquence they often excel. At some anniversaries of Odd Fellows I have heard extemporaneous addresses of remarkable eloquence: and when I have had to prepare myself for preaching to large bodies chiefly of the working classes, I found how necessary it was to read up the subject well. Thirty years ago, the controversies then raging did not relate to those vital subjects which have been so ably and so piously treated by the Archbishop, but it was not less necessary for the sake of the working men to be able to take a part in those controversies. I have known some working men of great acquirements. I knew one man who as a botanist was forty or fifty years

ago quite an authority; and many others who by study improved their minds and prepared themselves for the intellectual enjoyments provided for them in Mechanics' and other Institutions. It was one of these men who made the reply to which I have referred. He said—If you want to know what Christianity has done for the humbler classes of society have recourse to history. My friend was quite right. If you look at history, you will find that before the coming of our Lord the great object of the rulers and chieftains was to make wars in order to obtain captives for slaves. No one in those days would work unless they were compelled to work, and the great wars we read of were undertaken to make captives and to reduce whole nations to slavery. From the very first the Church resolutely resisted that system, as Christianity regarded all men equal in the sight of God. When we come to the history of our own country, we find that the Saxons invaded England to make the Britons slaves. We have fifty or sixty British words now in use which all relate to servile employment, and show that the Britons were slaves to the Saxons. When Christianity was established in this country it resolutely opposed slavery; so that at the time of the Norman invasion it had become reduced to little more than serfdom. Still the Christian Church laboured on slowly to abolish villainy and serfdom, and steadily until the principle was established that every man born in England is a freeman from his birth. (Loud cheers.) That is one great work amongst others that Christianity has accomplished for the working classes. They were made free men—they were admitted to equal rights, and they were regarded as Christian brethren; so that it now depends upon the working classes themselves whether they will themselves continue that elevation of character which Christianity in asserting their rights, and in educating and preparing them for the enjoyment of those rights established for them. It remains for you to elevate your great and important class to the level of the classes above it. Look at the upper and middle classes—how have they advanced? Many of us must have heard our fathers and grandfathers state what were the drinking practices of the last century. It was bad enough when I was young; but by all accounts it was much worse in my father's time. I recollect him saying that forty years before if a man gave a dinner party and any guest came away sober it was the greatest insult that could be offered to him. (A laugh.) An old gentleman told me that in his younger days it was the practice for a certain number of bottles to be placed on the sideboard. When the guests were assembled the door would be locked, the key thrown out of the window, and the host would say—"Gentlemen, you see what you have to do: no one leaves this room till all that wine is drunk." (Great laughter.) How different is the case now. Drunkenness is looked upon as degrading by the middle classes. They were looked down upon then and had very little respect shown them by the upper classes; but by their industry, providence, and sobriety, they have become the most influential class of society. This is a great lesson for the working classes. Many of them in this neighbourhood have arrived by the same virtues to positions of respectability and opulence; but as a rule they have the great failing of intemperance. When I left

Leeds, I put the question to one of the leading temperance advocates as to how much improvement had been effected in his time. He said that the mass of drunkenness was one quarter less than it was twenty years ago. (Cheers.) I mention this to show that temperance societies have done an immense amount of good. (Cheers.) It is all very well to say that men ought to be actuated by higher motives; they ought, but they are not. We must, therefore, begin with the lower motives and rise to the higher; but for my own part I am willing to take any motive that will make men temperate. (Cheers.) I long ago came to the conclusion that such did much good by helping to form habits of temperance. I never belonged to those societies. (Great laughter.) I had no occasion, because I am a teetotaler, and therefore speak to you with greater effect on the subject. (Cheers.) My objection to these societies is that that which is a great assistance for one man, may not be required by another, and that we ought not to force upon others a discipline which may be useful for ourselves. I found intemperance the great bane of my parish, but I found that I could not say anything with effect without being a teetotaler. I will tell you how it happened. I had a working man in the parish who earned 18s. a week, out of which he gave his wife 7s., and took the rest for drink. (Sensation.) He was a good sort of a man for all that. (Laughter.) I went to him and remonstrated with him, and advised him to be a teetotaler. He said, "Suppose I abstain for six months, will you do the same?" "Yes, I will," I said. (Laughter.) "What," he said, "will you give up beer and spirits and wine! How shall I know?" I said, "You shall ask my missus and I shall ask yours." (Roars of laughter.) Thus the bargain was made; and just before the six months had expired, his wife came and told me that he had been saying it would be all right next week, and he would have a jolly time of it. Upon this I went to the man and said, "Suppose we agree for six months more." He said, "my missis has been to you (a laugh), but I only said it to chaff her; I am not such a fool now, I have got over it, to begin drinking again." We, however, agreed for another six months, and eventually it proved the greatest blessing to him. He became provident as well as temperate, and is now in very good circumstances. This shows that without even belonging to a society each man may be useful to his fellow-men, if he will only make a little sacrifice himself. (Cheers.) But there is another thing observable in the middle classes, viz.: their prudence and foresight, and their desire to save money, and put it out to the best advantage. That is what the working men should do. You should get into building societies, and saving banks, and it cannot be denied, that when you get your money out of your pocket, you cannot spend it in drink. (Cheers.) It is a great blessing that so many means have been now invented to enable those who have but a small capital to lay out their money to advantage. It is a great encouragement to habits of temperance, prudence, and forethought. Let me add that although it is right to look forward to the future in this world, it is more important to look on to the world beyond the grave and seek to have an interest there. His Grace has exhausted that subject, and I will not say more, only remark this, that we cannot know anything of a future state, unless it is revealed by God.

Reason might conjecture that there is a future life, but as a fact, we can only know it by being told of it by God himself. God has assured us of this great fact—there is a world beyond the grave, there is an eternal heaven and hell. God has connected that great fact with another, viz. : that we can only realize eternal bliss by our union with Him, who is the Son of God. To unite us to Him is the object of the Church from first to last. Her first great duty is to say, “Turn ye, turn ye, why will ye die,” when God has provided a Divine Saviour for you? The Church then goes on with her ordinances and sacraments to unite us closer to Him in whom only is life, and who is omnipotent to save. Therefore let us cling to these great truths. As you desire to be happy here on earth be temperate, be prudent, be saving. As you desire to be eternally happy in heaven, accept the only Saviour; and, if you do not deny Him before men, we know He will not deny you before his angels in heaven. (Loud Cheers.)

SIR ROUNDELL PALMER, Q.C., M.P. : I could not have presumed to address any words to this assembly had it been necessary for every speaker to enter into those higher topics touched upon, and with so much authority by those who have preceded me. I perceive, however, it has been recognized by all the speakers this evening—that it is germane to the business of this Congress to address ourselves to the best means of elevating the condition of all classes of our countrymen, and especially of that most numerous class—the one least gifted with the advantages of wealth and education—of which the majority of those here assembled consist. And, at the same time, there is no more important part of the duty of a Christian Church, and of all who meet together to consult with each other on subjects connected with its efficiency, than that they should carefully watch for and promote the mutual good will and harmony of all classes of society. That is a matter on which all classes may feel sympathy for one another. I cannot stand before such an assembly as this without feeling a profound and hearty sympathy with those who compose it, and giving expression to that sympathy. Taking counsel of preceding speakers, I shall abstain from all flattery, but still endeavour to give a definite expression to those things that I wish to say to such an assembly of my working fellow-countrymen. If we are to suppose you are bent on elevating your own condition and the condition of each other, you must bind yourselves together with all the different classes of society in our land. What, then, is the first thing for every man to consider and answer for himself? He ought to ascertain what he is and for what purpose he came into the world. The foundation of all union between classes must be a right conception of what a man is; for, unless he recognizes the truth that he is a spiritual and immortal being, he will not be susceptible of elevation himself. That is the foundation, and on it must be built that morality, without which no good can exist, whether in one class or another. I quite agree that intellectual improvement is of no value without moral improvement; without moral goodness and virtue, no intellectual attainments will be of the slightest value whatever. Let us reflect for a moment on the reason of this. Why is despotism not a good form of government? It may be that a despotic governor is a man of the highest intellect;

but if a man can do what he likes, he will often like to do what is not right, and then it will become a detestable form of government, notwithstanding its intellectual superiority. With regard to the working classes, if it is said that to the faults and vices which exist in all other classes, and which are not spoken of as characteristic of classes, they add some others, it is natural they should resent it; but it would be best to answer such a charge by showing practically that the accusation is unjust and untrue. The working classes ought, whenever they hear something to their discredit, at once to consider how they can best remove such a misapprehension. If, for instance, it were said that any large portion of them was intemperate, let the public opinion of the class be felt strongly as condemning intemperance wherever it may be found amongst them, and in encouragement of the opposite quality. If they are charged with being too often open to bribery, let the class, as a class, set its face against any man who gives or takes a bribe. Let such a man be excommunicated, as it were, from society. Set a brand and a mark on that man in public and in private, and you will not only vindicate yourselves as a class from that charge, but confer a great benefit upon the country at large. (Cheers.) So, with regard to improvidence; let every workman in the receipt of excellent wages meet that charge by saving and investing his savings, and so rise, by degrees, above the rank in which he was born: he will in that way exemplify one excellence of our institutions, namely, the facility with which one class may pass into another which is above it. (Cheers.) I need not go far to-night to remind you of a striking example of this, and one of which the nation is most justly proud. (Cheers.) In this country there is no such thing as any exclusive caste, and the secret of advancement is—practice virtue, cultivate intelligence, and save your money. (Cheers.) There is another thing on which I would say a few words. You are all aware of the mighty power of co-operation, and how, when members of any numerous and powerful class unite and let their will and voice be known, it is almost impossible to resist them. It is a mighty power, whether used for good or for evil. What I am most anxious to see is that the working classes should appreciate the dignity of their position, and never allow themselves to be tempted to use that power for evil—that they should respect the liberty of each other, and set their faces against all sorts of combinations, the object of which is to prevent their fellow workmen from working where they can find employment. Nothing tells more against union than acts of this kind, by which particular members of a class disgrace the whole. I am sorry to say I have observed that there exists in parts of this country a system of violence and intimidation to prevent men from getting a livelihood on their own terms, which tells more than anything else against the just estimation for virtue and excellence of the class to which those unworthy members belong. I am addressing working men, and I feel the deepest respect for working men as a class—I feel the greatest desire for their welfare, and that they should get their due in every respect—and I entreat you to take this to heart. It rests with you to indicate your own reputation and character, and your qualification for that political advancement of which you think yourselves worthy. Set up a sound public opinion in your class—condemn all these vicious excesses

—and shew that they do not belong to the class, but to individuals. (Cheers.) The more this is done, the more it will do to elevate, not this particular class or that, but all classes, for all are bound together, and entitle them to a fair share in the benefits of any new distribution of power which the national system may require and effect. (Loud cheers.)

EARL NELSON: I am anxious to express in a very few words a hope that this will be the beginning of Church Congress of the Working Men of England. The Church of England is especially the Church of the working men. It was endowed for your benefit, and is so expansive in its formation as to be fully capable of meeting your wants. All that is required is, that you should form yourselves into a Church Congress, and tell us your wants. The doctrine of the Church cannot be changed, as it is essential to its vitality, but the times for holding the daily service, their duration, their frequency, or any other subject on which her rules could be made more suitable to your wants would be gladly considered by us. It must never be forgotten that the Church of England is essentially your heritage. It was endowed for your benefit, that whilst you were toiling for your daily bread, and to put forward your children in the world, those who cannot provide religious services for themselves should have them ready at hand. (Cheers.) The voluntary system does not aid the Working Men, it always passes on to the richer districts. Coming from the South of England I have been struck by the pleasing sight of your hives of industry in the North, of the teaming wealth of many of your districts, of the intelligence of your people. I would beg the Working Men of this part of the world to demand free access to their churches—to have them open all day as places to which they can retire going to and from your daily work. It is right we should call you together to consult on the work of our Common Lord and Master. (Cheers.) Some people when they read the subjects brought before this Congress will think we have not sufficiently limited the questions to be brought before us, and may consider “the social condition of the people” beyond the limits of a Church Congress discussion, but we must not forget that it is our duty as Christians to walk in the steps of our Lord and Master, who went about doing good, healing all that were diseased or vexed of the devil. And in following His example we may do more than heal, by carrying out the means which the Science of Sanitary and Social Reform have brought to our notice, we may prevent many diseases and the fruitful cause of many sins. I rejoice that this has been accepted as a Church work of this Congress, for it is a question which cannot be effectually dealt with, however efficiently clergymen or laymen may labour among you, unless you yourselves remember that you are a real part of the Church of Christ, and are bound each one of you, as members of the Christian Commonwealth, to do your utmost for Christ’s sake to abate the moral and social work by which you are surrounded, not only for your own sakes, but in accordance with the Christian law of love, for the benefits of your fellow-men. (Cheers.)

THE DEAN OF CARLISLE: I trust your Grace will allow one of our injured class of individuals, the class of deans (a laugh), to say a few

words. The question was once asked in the House of Commons—"What is the use of deans?" (a laugh,) but I hope it will be allowed they have been of some use to-night, and have spoken some good things to you. (Cheers.) The Dean of Chichester has touched on a topic dear to my heart. It has rejoiced me greatly to hear that he has come to the conclusion that he cannot get on without total abstinence; and I hope this meeting will appreciate the fact that he was driven into it by his sympathy with the wants of the working classes. (Cheers.) In one respect it is true, as my very reverend brother says, the upper and the lower classes have changed places. He has truly described the drunkenness of the past generation, and I rejoice that we cannot point to it now in the upper classes. It is utterly discountenanced, and even at the mess table it is not for a moment admitted. This is a great advantage, but unfortunately the dispossessed demon has flown to the working classes. There are twenty-seven millions sterling paid annually as taxes on drink, which must represent a quantity consumed in the year of the value of sixty millions. It is the great hindrance to all the efforts made to elevate the lower classes; and to meet the evil Sunday School teachers, district visitors, and clergymen have found it necessary to become total abstainers themselves. The names of 593 clergymen are published who have taken the pledge of total abstinence, not so much because they think the moderate use of stimulating drinks absolutely wrong, but simply out of benevolence, and love for the working classes. (Cheers.) And I can assure your Grace that there is nothing a clergyman can do which will so greatly call forth from the people warm expressions of gratitude and attachment as this personal sacrifice, in order to set them an example. I will state to you, my friends, a truth which cannot be denied. It is, that if you never drink, you will never get drunk. (Cheers and laughter.) Do not be afraid of total abstinence. When you see two such stout well looking teetotal deans as those of Carlisle and Chichester (great laughter), you need not fear that it will do you any harm. (Cheers.) For eleven years I have never tasted anything stronger than water, and I am fully persuaded that I am much the better for it. Now, I am going to say something on politics. Do not be alarmed; I am neither Whig, Tory, nor Radical. (A laugh.) I hear a rumour that there is to be a great increase of the franchise for the working classes, but I can tell you, that by total abstinence, you will get the franchise for yourselves long before friend Bright will get it for you; and what is more, you will not only get it, but prove you have a right to it by previous self-denial and virtue. (Cheers.) The Earl of Harrowby has spoken of the failure of Mechanics' Institutions; but I believe when they break down it is because they are managed by gentlemen. They do much better where they are managed by the working men themselves. A very great number of what are called Mechanics' Institutions, are not intended really for the working men, but for gentlemen who like to look at the papers cheap. (A laugh.) We have thirteen or fourteen reading-rooms in Carlisle, varying from thirty or forty members each, up to a hundred or more; and we find that the working men are perfectly well able to manage their own business if they are let alone. Gentlemen may help them by giving them good advice; but if they

fail, the reason is that they are overlaid by persons of a different class in life. The working classes have some most excellent qualities which the rest of the world knows little about. It is said that some mothers are indifferent about sending their children to school, and no doubt they are; but in Carlisle we have three (and we shall have four this winter I hope) large night schools, the pupils in which consist of factory girls. They pay 6d. or 8d. each a week to be instructed; and these poor girls often working ten hours show their desire for self-improvement by going home, getting their tea, cleaning themselves, and then devoting an hour and a-half to the school. (Cheers.) Can it then be said that the working classes have no desire for improvement, for what the girls do the youths do also? I find them very well informed, and some of our weavers at Carlisle would, I can tell you, pose a good number of those who call themselves well educated. (Cheers.) These meetings prove an increasing earnestness in all members of the Church of England. This very platform with its array of church dignitaries and clergymen, the two noblemen who have shown by addressing you how much men in their position are interested in your welfare; the influential laymen who have come from all parts to join in our discussions—these are all encouraging things, and it is besides a very firm conviction that there is a growing disposition in the working men to attach themselves to the Church of England. (Cheers.) They give an enlightened preference to the simple worship and pure faithful gospel preaching of the Church to which we belong. And I almost wonder at it. I am going to do penance. (A laugh.) It is, I say, a wonder that they should care for the Church, when, for so long bishops and deans, and dignitaries of all classes have cared so little for them. If we have not shut the doors of the Church in their faces we have shut the pew doors. (Cheers.) I speak individually, but from long experience, and I believe that the working men have been driven into chapels, and away from the Church, by our system of locked up pews. I was once addressing a class of weavers, and I said, “Suppose you could build a fancy church, how would you like it?” They said they should not like it all open, but that they should like to pay for their sittings. They would have half free, and the other half pay, but no distinction made between the one and the other. Working men have great delicacy of feeling, and their expression was—“I should not like to do anything to show I could afford to pay for a sitting, and my poor brother could not.” (Cheers.) There is an ample field before us in which we may all work according to our various convictions. I know everything that Dr. Hook has told you is true, and for my part I leave this with you. There is a time coming to us all when we shall not be asked what was our opinion upon this or upon that; but whether we have a firm and unshaken trust in the dying love of our Divine Redeemer, as it is only by faith in Him that we can be saved from eternal perdition. (Hear, hear.)

THE DEAN OF YORK, who was received with loud cheers, said—I have to make to your Grace a very humble request. I am deputed by the members of the Working Men’s Institute to ask your Grace and those noblemen and gentlemen who have spoken this evening to accept from me on behalf of the working men their expression of

grateful acknowledgment for those addresses delivered with so much success and ability. (Cheers.) In preferring this request, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I make it not only on their behalf but on my own, because in common with them I claim the title of a working man. (Cheers.) In making this request I shall only add the expression of my own sincere conviction and my humble thankfulness to Almighty God that this magnificent gathering here to-night has supplemented the meetings of our Church Congress. (Loud cheers.) It is well known that in common with many others, I have felt an anxious desire that this Congress should not merely be a success, but that it should leave a favourable and permanent impression behind it; but I honestly confess it never entered my thoughts that one of its first fruits would be this magnificent assemblage here of the working men of this city. (Cheers.) My lord, I heartily reciprocate the wish of Earl Nelson that this may be followed by another Church Congress of working men held by themselves. (Cheers.) I have only to present again to your Grace the request I have been deputed to make. (Cheers.)

The REV. CANON HEY seconded the request. There is an old saying, "More pigs and less parsons;" but no one can have attended this meeting without concluding that it would be better to have "more pigs and fewer public-houses." (Cheers.) The York Working Men's Club is an institution which provides in the evenings agreeable recreations and improvements free from the temptations which beset so frequently the working man. (Cheers.)

HIS GRACE, in closing the proceedings, expressed his satisfaction. The speakers had not scrupled to give the working men advice, but it was rather as friends and brothers than as assuming any authority; and he believed the result would be the promotion of a mutual good and kindly feeling. (Cheers.)

His Grace then dismissed the assembly with the Apostolic Benediction.

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